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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 436. JULY, 1913.

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By C. T. Atkinson.
2. THE LIGHTER SIDE OF IRISH LIFE.
By C. L. Graves.
3. THE LIFE OF DESCARTES.
By Elizabeth S. Haldane.
4. DRY-FLY FISHING FOR SEA TROUT.
By Anthony Buxton.
5. DRAMATIC CONSTRUCTION AND THE NEED FOR A
NEW TECHNIQUE. By W. L. Courtney.
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8. MODERN FEMINISM AND SEX-ANTAGONISM.
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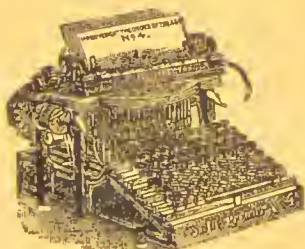
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Art 7.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF TOBACCO.

1. *Segunda parte del libro de las cosas que se traen en nuestras Indias Occidentales, que siruen al vso de medicina. Do se trata del Tabaco, y de la Sassafras, y de Carlo Sancto, etc.* By Nicholas Monardes. Seville, 1571.
2. *Instruction sur l'herbe Petun ditte en France l'Herbe de la Roynne, ou Medicée.* By I. G. P. [i.e. Jacques Gohorry, Parisien]. Paris, 1572.
3. *Tabacologia; hoc est Tabaci, seu Nicotianae descriptio Medico-Cheirurgico-Pharmaceutica: vel ejus praeparatio et usus in omnibus fermè corporis humani incommodis.* By Johannes Neander of Bremen. Leyden: Isaac Elzevir, 1626.
4. *Geschichte des Tabaks und anderer ähnlicher Genussmittel.* By Friedrich Tiedemann. Frankfurt a/M, 1854.
5. *Bibliotheca Nicotiana.* By William Bragge. First edition, 1874; second edition, 1880. (Both privately printed.)

TOBACCO first found its way into Europe rather as a medicament than as the solace and companion of fallen male nature. Both in its native continent, and even more in those western European countries which early adopted it, almost miraculous healing qualities were at one time attributed to the herb. The gradual displacement of tobacco as a drug and its acceptance as one of the amenities of civilised life will become apparent as our story unfolds itself.

There can be no doubt that the knowledge of tobacco reached the old world from America, and that the first acquaintance of Europeans with the herb is contemporary, almost to a day, with the discovery of the western continent. Columbus appears to have seen the plant a few hours after he set foot on American soil. This information has reached us in comparatively modern times through the publication of the manuscripts of Bartholoméo de Las Casas, the apostle of the Indies (1474–1566), who deserves remembrance for his tireless denunciation of the cruelty of his people towards the American natives. Las Casas possessed a number of the papers of Columbus, and among them was the explorer's original holograph journal, of which he prepared an

abridged version. This latter manuscript lay long unnoticed, but was finally published in 1825.* The great missionary also elaborated an expanded form of the journal, to which he added observations of his own, and notes based on a personal knowledge both of Columbus and of the Indies. This book, although well known in manuscript form, † was not published until 1875, when it appeared as the 'Historia de las Indias.' ‡

Columbus first landed on October 12, 1492, on the island he called 'Guanahani' or 'San Salvador.' For Monday, October 15, there stands the following entry in the Journal: §

'In the middle of the gulf between the islands of Santa Maria (Rum Cay?) and . . . Fernandina (Long Island?) I found a man in a canoe carrying a little piece of bread about as large as the fist, and a gourd of water, and a bit of reddish earth reduced to dust and then kneaded, and some dry leaves which must be a thing very much appreciated among them, because they had already brought me some as a present at San Salvador.'

These leaves were doubtless dried tobacco, and the kneaded clay was probably used as a little hearth on which to burn the leaves while the smoke was inhaled, in a manner that will be subsequently described. A few days later Columbus had landed in Cuba, and the Journal relates that on Friday, November 2, 'the Admiral decided to send (inland) two Spaniards, the one named Rodrigo de Jerez . . . and the other Luis de Torres, who had been a Jew, and who knew how to speak Hebrew and Chaldean and even some Arabic.' || It will be remembered that

* By Martin Fernandez de Navarrette, Madrid, 1825. An imperfect English translation appeared in Boston in 1827 as a 'Personal Narrative of the First Voyage of Columbus to America.'

† A copy of this ms. was in the possession of Sir Arthur Helps, and was used by him in the preparation of his lives of Columbus and Las Casas. Helps states that in 1869 there were five copies in existence.

‡ Tom. lxii-lxvi of the 'Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España, por el Marqués de la Fuensanta de Valle y D. José Sancho Rayon.' Madrid, 1875.

§ i.e. in the version abridged by Las Casas. The larger publication in which the Journal is incorporated will be here referred to as the 'Historia.'

|| The expulsion of the Jews from Spain under conditions of revolting cruelty had taken place the very year that Columbus sailed on his first voyage. Nevertheless several Jews were numbered among the expedition. By 'Chaldean' is meant, doubtless, the Aramaic language of some of the Jewish writings.

Columbus had expected to sail to Asia, to reach Cathay and the territories of the Grand Khan. He had therefore taken with him interpreters acquainted with Oriental languages. The two emissaries were to visit and, if possible, to communicate with the king of a powerful neighbouring state described to the explorers by the natives.

On Tuesday, November 6, occurs the following entry in the Journal: 'The two men who had been sent inland came back and told how they had gone twelve leagues, as far as a village of fifty houses.' Then there follows a passage thus expanded in the 'Historia':

'These two Christians found on the way many people, men and women, going to and from their villages, and always the men with a brand in their hands and certain herbs in order to take their smokes, which are some dry herbs put in a certain leaf, also dry, in the manner of a musket formed of paper, like those the boys make at Eastertide. Having lighted one end of it, by the other they suck, absorb or receive that smoke inside with their breath by which they become benumbed and almost drunk, and so it is said they do not feel fatigue. These *muskets* as we will call them' (says Las Casas), 'they call *tabaco*. I knew Spaniards' (he adds) 'on this island of Española (San Domingo) who were accustomed to take it, and being reprimanded by telling them it was a vice, they made reply that they were unable to cease from using it. I know not what relish or benefit they found therein.'

In this, one of the earliest references to tobacco,* it will be observed that the word denotes not the herb itself, but the article prepared for smoking, and this appears to have been the original application of the term. Las Casas here describes tobacco used in the form of cigars, but snuff-taking was observed during Columbus' second voyage in 1494, and tobacco-chewing was encountered on the mainland of South America by the Spaniards in 1502. It has since become evident, both from the traditions of the Indians themselves, and from the discovery of pipes in ancient graves, that the use of tobacco in America is of very great antiquity.

* The 'Historia' of Las Casas, from which this passage is quoted, was probably compiled some time between the years 1527 and 1561.

The first writer who gives a figure of an appliance used in smoking is the historiographer of the Indies, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes (1478-1557). Oviedo first landed in America in 1514 and remained till 1523. He made a number of other voyages to the New World, and his volumes 'Natural Hystoria de las Indias' and 'Coronica de las Indias' appeared in 1526 and 1547 respectively. In both these works he devotes a chapter to the subject of smoking, and in the latter occurs a picture of an early form of pipe. This chapter may be translated as follows:

'Concerning the tabacos or smokings in which the Indians indulge in the island of Española, and of the sort of beds in which they sleep.'

'The Indians of this island have, among other vices, a very bad one, which is that of taking smoke, which they call *tabaco*, in order to lose consciousness; and this they do with the smoke of a certain herb. According to what I have been able to understand, it is of the nature of henbane, but not of that shape or form to the eye; for this herb is a shoot four or five hands high . . . with broad thick soft and downy leaves: and the verdure thereof inclines somewhat to the colour of what herbalists and medical men name the common bugloss.* This herb of which I speak is very similar in kind to henbane.

'They take it in this manner; the caçiques and chief men have small hollow sticks a few inches long and of the thickness of the little finger. These pipes have two channels that merge into one as here depicted, the whole being in one piece. The double end they set in the openings of the nostrils, the other end in the smoke of the burning herb. These pipes be right smooth and well wrought . . . And they inhale the smoke one, two and three times, and as often more as they can, until they fall senseless and lie for long upon the earth unconscious, drunk and wrapped in profound slumber. The Indians who cannot procure these little sticks take the smoke through common reeds or grasses. The instrument through which they inhale the smoke, or the reeds as aforesaid, the Indians call *tabaco*, but they do not



* The Bugloss is a member of the Natural Order Boraginaceae, and is thus closely allied to the Solanaceae, among which the tobacco plant finds a place.

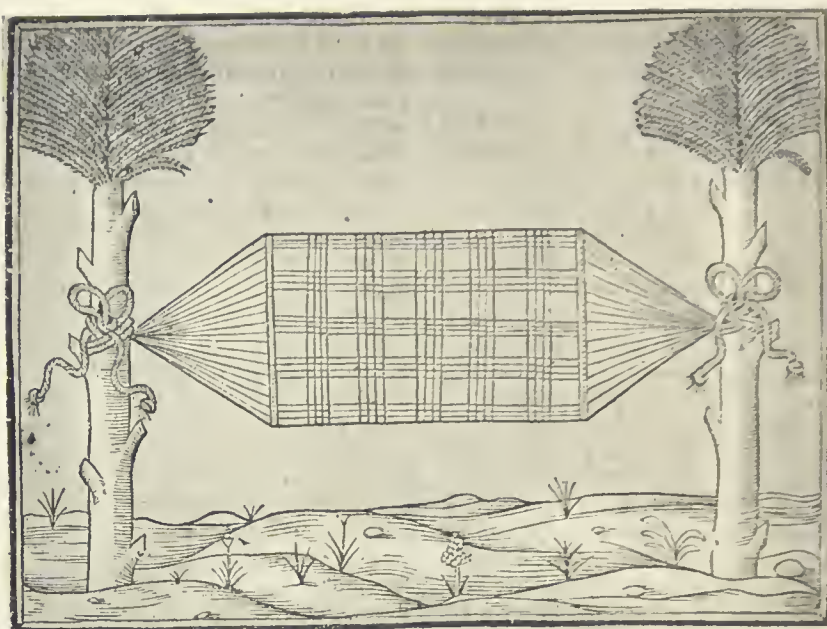


Fig. 1.—THE TOBACCO-BED OR HAMACA, AS FIGURED BY OVIEDO.

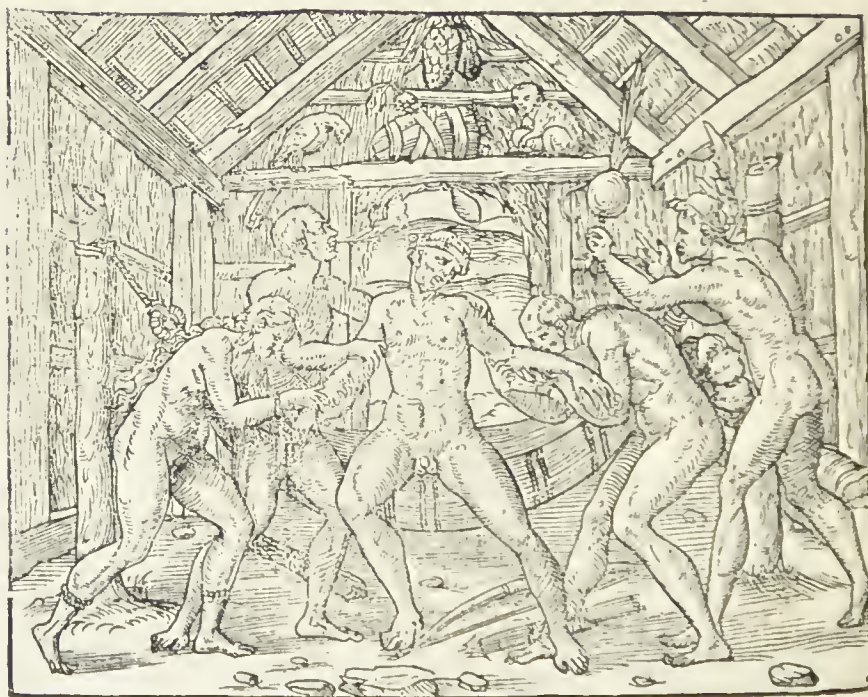


Fig. 2.—FROM THEVET'S 'SINGULARITEZ' (1558). THIS DRAWING, PROBABLY BY JEAN COUSIN, IS THE EARLIEST KNOWN ILLUSTRATION OF THE PROCESS OF SMOKING.

(as some have thought) so name either the herb or the stupor that overcomes them. This herb the Indians regard as a very precious thing, and they grow it in their gardens and plantations for the purpose aforesaid. They consider the use of that herb and the smoke thereof to be not only salutary but very sacred. And so when the caçique or headman falls on the ground, his wives (who are many) take him and place him in his bed, if he have beforehand so commanded them. But if he have not already so ordered, they fear not to leave him where he lies until the intoxication and sleep be past. I cannot think what pleasure is derived from such an act, unless it be the gluttony of drinking till one falls. Yet do I know that some Christians have been addicted to it, especially those who have had the pox, for they declare that during the time when they are thus insensate they feel not the pain of the disease. But to me it seemeth that this is naught else than death in life, a thing which I regard as worse than the pain they thus avoid, since they are not cured thereby.

‘At present many of the negroes in this city and in the whole island [of San Domingo] have adopted this very habit, and they grow the herb in the gardens and plantations of their masters for the purpose aforesaid. And they indulge in the same smoking, for they say that when they rest from work and have those *tabacos*, their fatigue leaves them. . . . As has been said above, when some headman or caçique falls by *tabaco*, they put him in a bed according to command, and it were well here to say what sort of bed the Indians of this Island have. It is that which they call *Hamaca*, and is made according to the fashion depicted.’ *

There follows the picture reproduced in fig. 1, which explains the derivation of our word ‘hammock.’ † It will be seen that the term *tabaco* is here again applied to the smoking apparatus. The period and manner in which the word tobacco became transferred to the substance itself remain undecided. ‡ Here, as in nearly all early writings on tobacco, the plant is regarded as having

* The writer cordially thanks Mr J. A. J. de Villiers of the Map Department of the British Museum and Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society, for help with some of Oviedo’s Spanish.

† The word, which is to be found in all European languages, has passed into modern German as ‘Hängematte,’ an interesting example of a false derivation.

‡ The word tobacco has been derived from the island of Tobago, off Trinidad, and from the city of Tabasco in southern Mexico. The resemblance in both cases, however, is almost certainly accidental.

strongly narcotic or medicinal qualities. If Oviedo is to be believed, its potency must have diminished since.

The custom of smoking is casually mentioned by several other early Spanish narrators of American travel. It is not unlikely that the first introduction of the plant into Europe was by Hernando Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, who is said to have presented tobacco-grains to Charles V in 1518. Early in the 16th century, however, other nations besides those of the Iberian peninsula began to enter the field of discovery in the New World and to send explorers thither. One of the first of these adventurers, and one of the earliest writers who gave any attention to smoking, was Jacques Cartier (1491-1557), the Breton navigator. The extreme rarity of his 'Brief recit et succincte narration de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada'* has perhaps prevented the entry of this work into the list of recognised early writings on tobacco. Cartier made altogether four voyages to North America, and it appears to have been on his second expedition, between 1535 and 1536, that he observed the use of tobacco. His 'Brief recit,' however, did not appear until 1545, when his voyages were over and he had settled at St Malo. Cartier writes as follows:

'They have also a herb which they greatly esteem, and during the summer they make great store of it for the winter time. Only the men use it and in the manner following. They have it dried in the sun and carry it about their necks in a little beast's skin in place of a bag, with a horn of stone or wood: then presently they make powder of this herb, and place it in one of the ends of the said horn, and putting a tiny coal of fire thereon, they suck at the other end, and thus they fill their bodies with smoke, so that it comes out by the mouth and nostrils as by a chimney funnel. They say that it keeps them healthy and warm, and they never go without having these appliances. We have ourselves tried the said smoke, which after being put into our mouth seemed to be powder of pepper put therein, it was so hot.'

The tobacco here described as being used by the Canadian Indians was probably obtained from the *Nicotiana rustica*, which grows in their own country, and

* Only a single copy of this interesting work is believed to have survived. The volume is now in the British Museum.



Fig. 3.—ANDRÉ THEVET, COSMOGRAPHER ROYAL, FROM HIS
'COSMOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE,' 1575.

not from the *Nicotiana tabacum*, which flourishes further south, and from which our own supplies are drawn. It will, moreover, be seen that it was a form of pipe, rather than a cigar or cigarette, that was affected by these northern aborigines.

The next writer who gave any considerable attention to our subject was also a Frenchman, the geographer, André Thevet. He described tobacco under the term 'Petun' in his 'Singularitez de la France Antarctique,* autrement nommé Amérique,' published in Paris in 1558. The work has been little noticed by English readers, and as we have detected among the plates one which contains the earliest published picture of the actual process of smoking (fig. 2), we here consider Thevet and his work in some detail.

It is difficult to be precise as to dates in the life of this remarkable though neglected writer.† Coming in the golden period of French literature, he has been altogether overshadowed by the giant forms which crowd the stage of Gallic genius throughout the 16th century. Nevertheless, whether we regard him as a writer, a traveller, or a scientist, he is worthy of some attention. André Thevet was probably born in the year 1502, of very humble parentage, in the town of Angoulême, of which he was always a devoted and patriotic son. He entered early into a monastery of the order of St Francis in his native town. Here he was educated and became an omnivorous reader, displaying always a curious and enquiring bent. He had a passion for travel, and was apparently furnished by various ecclesiastical patrons with the means to satisfy this desire. In 1549 Thevet accompanied an expedition to the Orient. He embarked at Venice, and travelled through Asia Minor, Greece, Palestine, etc., returning to France about 1554, in which year appeared a volume of notes on his voyage, entitled 'Cosmographie du Levant.' For his portrait see fig. 3.

* i.e. the southern part of America and especially Brazil.

† The chief authorities for the life of Thevet are: (a) The 'Lettre sur l'introduction du Tabac en France,' from the antiquary Ferdinand Denis to A. Demersay, in the 'Études Économiques sur l'Amérique Méridionale,' Paris, 1851; (b) Paul Gaffarel in his 'Notice Biographique' prefixed to his reprint of the 'Singularitez de la France Antarctique,' Paris, 1878; (c) The Abbé Valentin Dufour's introduction to a reprint of Thevet's 'La Grande et Excellente Cité de Paris,' Paris, 1881.

In the following year the Huguenot Admiral Coligny, foreseeing the troubles about to fall upon the Protestants in France, despatched to Brazil an expedition, largely financed by the King, to seek a refuge for the persecuted Reformers. The venture was under the charge of Nicholas Durand, better known by his assumed name of Villegagnon, a knight of the Maltese order, who had served in the expedition of Charles V against Algiers, and had distinguished himself as an author and amateur theologian. Thevet accompanied the party as a volunteer when Villegagnon set sail with two ships in May 1555. A landing was effected on an island near the mouth of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, and close to the Tropic of Capricorn, on a spot that still commemorates the attempt by its name of Ilha de Villagalhão. The country around was called by the leader of the colonists 'Antarctic France.' The expedition itself may be regarded as the prototype of all those that have since gone to the New World to seek a place where men might worship God as seemed best to them. Unfortunately the attempt to found a colony was a complete failure, in great part owing to the peculiarities of Villegagnon's theological views. The immigrants, Thevet among them, had therefore to find their way back to Europe in trading vessels.

Returning to France in 1556, Thevet brought with him the tobacco plant, and began to write his charming '*Singularitez de la France Antarctique*.' This remarkable book is illustrated by woodcuts which, according to M. Gaffarel, are the work of the artist Jean Cousin (1500-90). On examination of the figures, however, it becomes obvious that at least two hands were involved in the illustration of this work. Some of the drawings are artistically beneath contempt, and resemble the lifeless woodcuts that frequently disfigure works of the period. Others, on the other hand, may be more safely regarded as the work of Cousin. These are spirited in draughtsmanship, and display the anatomical knowledge that might be expected from so distinguished an artist, who was also a countryman and contemporary of Sylvius, Charles Étienne and Vesalius. This group of drawings is moderately exemplified by our fig. 2.

The picture here reproduced is supposed to represent a sufferer from the '*morbus gallicus*,' who is being

treated by his companions. To the line of treatment itself we have already drawn attention in another communication,* and in the reference to the subject quoted above from Oviedo. For the present we will focus the reader's attention to the single figure which stands to the right and behind the central figure of the patient. On close scrutiny it will be seen that this man has his two hands occupied with the sufferer, but from his mouth issues a conical structure, marked with spiral lines, and terminating in a cloud of smoke. Although there is no direct statement to that effect, we consider that he is smoking a cigar, or rather the prototype of a cigar, by way of medical treatment. The figure is thus the earliest known pictorial representation of smoking. Suspended behind the group may be seen the 'hamaca' or tobacco bed to which we have already referred.

Thevet devotes to the consideration of tobacco the greater part of two chapters, an earlier one describing the use of the herb in Brazil, and a later one telling of the habit among the Canadian Indians. In order to preserve some of the quaintness of the original, we quote these passages from the anonymous English translation of 1568, entitled 'The new found worlde or Antarctike.'† A few corrections and additions which we have made from the original French we indicate by square brackets.

Petun an herb and howe it is used.	'There is another secrete herbe which they name in their language <i>Petun</i> , the which most commonly they beare about them, for that they esteem it marvellous profitable for many things, this herbe is like our Buglos. They gather this herbe very charely [Fr., <i>soigneusement</i>], and dry it [in the shade] within their little cabanes or houses. Their maner to use it, is this, they wrappe a quantitie of this herb being dry in a leafe of a
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* 'Annals of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene,' vol. vi, p. 379, 1912.

† 'The New found worlde, or Antaretike, wherin is contained wonderful and strange things, as well of humaine creatures, as Beastes, Fishes, Foulcs and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Pines of Gold and Silver: garnished with many learned authorities, travailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet. And now translated into Englishe, wherein is reformed the errours of the auncient Cosmographers.' London, 1568, Anonymous (?Edward Place). For an account of this work, see the present author in 'Annals of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene,' vol. vi, p. 96 ff, 1912.

Palme tree which is very great, and so they make rolles of the length of a candle, and than they fire the one end, and receive the smoke thereof by the nose and by their mouthe. They say it is very holesome to elense [Fr., *faire distiller*] and consume the superfluous humors of the brain. Moreover being taken after this sort, it kepeth the parties from hunger and thirst for a time. Therefore they use it ordinarily. . .

‘When they have any secret talke or counsel among themselves they draw this smoke and then they speake. The which they do costomably one after another in the [Councils of] Warre [for which purpose it is most useful]. The women use it by no means. [It is a fact that] if that they take too much of this perfume, it will make them light in the head as [do the vapours] of strong wine. The Christians that do now inhabite there, are become very desirous of this [herb and] parfume, although that the first use thereof is not without danger, before that one is accustomed thereto, for this smoke causeth sweates and weakenesse, even to fall into a Syncope, the which I have tried in my selfe. And it is not so straunge as it seemeth, for there are many other fruits that offende the braine, though that the tast of them is plesant and good to eat’ (chap. xxxii, p. 49A).

The ‘drying in the shade within their little cabanes or houses’ refers to the process of ‘curing’ and ‘fermentation’ through which the tobacco leaf has to pass in the course of its manufacture. After the tobacco is dried either in the sun or in a dry room or by a very slow fire, it is piled up within a barn into a solid stack and there left for several weeks, being turned over from time to time.* The ‘fermentation’ thus induced is probably not a bacterial process, but is due to the presence of an enzyme in the leaves.

The second passage in the ‘Singularitez’ referring to the use of tobacco is perhaps partly taken from Cartier and concerns the method of smoking adopted in Canada.

A kinde of herbe. ‘Furthermore there is a little seede, small like to Mariolaine† seede, which bringeth forth an herbe somewhat great. This herbe is marvellously esteemed: also they drie it in the sunne, after

* The earliest book known to us containing a satisfactory description of these processes is the ‘Tabacologia’ of Johannes Neander, Leyden, 1626. In this work there are also good figures of the preparation of the leaf.

† Probably Marjoram, the fruit of which splits into four seeds, which somewhat resemble the numerous little seeds of the tobacco plant.

that they have gathered a greate quantitye, and customably they hang it about their neck, being wrapped in [little pouches of the skin of some animal. They have a kind of hollow trumpet, into one end of which they put some of the herbs thus]* dried, which after that they have rubbed it a little betweene their hands, they put it to the fire and so receive the smoke by the other end of the horn into their

The use of mouths, and they take thereof in such quantitye
this herbe that it cometh forth both at the nose and at
in parfume. the eyes. And after that sorte they parfume
them all houres in the daye. The people of *America* [i.e. of
Brazil] doe parfume them after an other manner, as we have
before showed' (chap. lxxvii, p. 126A).

These passages quoted from Thevet are the earliest references in the English language to tobacco, unless, perchance, we may interpret in this sense a solitary phrase in Richard Eden's volume of 1555 entitled, 'The decades of the newe worlde or west India.' The phrase occurs in decade III, book 8, where in the course of a description of the wonders of the West Indies it is said, 'There is also a herbe whose smoke is deadly poison.'†

In the year 1561, three years after the publication of the 'Singularitez,' Jean Nicot (1530-1600), Sieur de Villemain and French Ambassador to Sebastian, King of Portugal, reintroduced the tobacco plant to his native country. The herb has since been known as *Nicotiana*. On his way to Portugal Nicot appears to have met at Bordeaux a Flemish merchant who gave him some seeds of the tobacco plant. On his return to France Nicot gave some of these seeds to Catherine de Medici and to the grand prieur. Hence the plant became known as the 'herbe du grand prieur' or the 'herbe de la reine ou Medicée.' Cardinal de Sainte Croix, papal nuncio to Portugal, and Nicolo Tornaboni, nuncio to France, first introduced tobacco into Italy with a view to its use as a remedy for the 'morbus gallicus.' They therefore called it the 'herbe sainte,' and by this or some similar title it was long known in Western Europe. Our Thevet claimed

* The errors here corrected provide internal evidence that the translator had never seen tobacco used.

† This part of Eden's work is translated from Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's 'De Orbe Novo Decades,' of which parts were printed in 1511, 1516 and 1530 respectively. The original passage runs, 'Est et herba quae, uti de ligno alias memoravimus, suffumigio perimit.'

(and his own works uphold him) that he preceded Nicot by some years, and that in 1556 he brought back with him from America the seeds of the shrubs which he planted in France and named the 'herb of Angoulême' from the place of his birth.

After the publication of the 'Singularitez,' Thevet became 'almoner' to Queen Catherine de Medici and later Royal historiographer, cosmographer and 'garde des curiosités.' He remained also in favour with her husband, Henri II, and with his successors, from whom he continued to hold offices of sinecure. Finally Charles IX gave him the 'commande de l'abbaye de Masdion,' in Saintonge, a post which he retained until his death in 1592. In 1575 Thevet produced the two interesting volumes of his 'Cosmographie Universelle.' Here in his description of America he again refers to his herb Petun, and gives a picture (fig. 4) of Indians smoking cigars of alarming magnitude, but of structure similar to that already illustrated. He now, however, weakens on the medicinal properties of the herb.

Petun a herb
named after
the author,
Angoulême.

'I make the claim' (he says) 'that I am the first who has brought the seed of this shrub [tobacco] to France and planted it there and called it the herb of Angoulême. Since then a certain man who has never been in the country [i.e. America] has chosen, some years after my return, to give it his own name. I am not so foolish as to try to make out as some have done that the savages use the leaves of Petun as a remedy in their diseases, and especially wounds and ulcers. For these leaves have no virtue or efficacy whatever except those which I have enumerated. I am, moreover, taken aback by others who would tell of two sorts of Petun, and who distinguish male and female plants.

'Some say that by distilling my herb of Angoulême in an alembic they can extract a fluid therefrom, and this I well believe, for it is a property of all plants, but the claim that an oily extract can be thus obtained is absurd, nor can all the empirics, alchemists, extractors of the fifth essence or antimonialists persuade me of it. There is a certain Italian, moreover, who has written very oddly of this herb and who tells the most stupid lies imaginable about it, thereby proving that he has never been in the country where it is found. He assures the reader that the vapour of dried Petun is used in Florida (whence it is exported, forsooth!) and is



Fig. 5.—DRAWING OF A TOBACCO PLANT, WITH HEAD OF A
NATIVE SMOKING, FROM LOBEL'S 'PLANTARUM SEU STIRPIUM
HISTORIA.'

[To face p. 136.



Fig. 4.—FROM THEYET'S 'COSMOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE,' 1575.

there smoked through the nose, and the poor barbarians thus sustained by it are enabled to go for four days without food. I blush to read such absurdities, for there is no man under the sun who has seen Petun in Florida or within a thousand leagues thereof [*sic*]. In fine, the savages with whom I have long had intercourse only use the herb for the purposes I have described above, and which you may see portrayed in the accompanying picture' (fig. 5).

Thevet's error in denying that the Indians attribute any medicinal or staying qualities to tobacco is amply demonstrated by his own writing and by other authors. Thus, in a little handbook for seamen published in England in 1598,* tobacco juice for erysipelas is advised on Indian authority, and its use for skin lesions was retained until the 18th century, and probably until recent times.

Similar evidence is yielded not only by Oviedo but by another very early writer who devoted much study to the medicinal properties of the plant, Nicolao Monardes, whose work ran into several editions and was translated into various languages, including English. Monardes, in his publication of 1571, is the first to figure the tobacco plant.† This book contains a curious passage which has been quaintly translated by a contemporary English writer. After having told how Indians and negroes inhale tobacco and smoke, he says that they

'doe remaine lightened without any wearinesse for to labour again: and thei dooe this with so greate pleasure, that although thei bee not wearie, yet thei are very desirous for to dooe it; and the thinges come to so much effecte, that their maisters doeth chasten theim for it, and do burn the Tabaco because thei should not use it.'

Another writer of similar date is the fertile author who under the pen sign I. G. P. (Jacques Gohorry, Parisien)

* 'The cures of the Diseased in remote regions. Preventing Mortalitie indicient in Forraine Attempts of the English Nation,' by G(eorge) W(ateson), London, 1598. Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. See C. Singer, 'Annals of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene,' vol. vi, p. 87, 1912.

† See the first item at the head of this article. An attractive English translation appeared as 'Joyful Newes out of the newfounde worlde, wherein is declared the rare and singuler vertues of diverse and sundrie Hearbes, Trees, Oyles, Plantes and Stones with their application as well for Physicke as Chirurgerie. . . . Also the portraiture of the saied Hearbes, very aptly discribed. Englished by Jhon Frampton, Marchaunt.' London, 12mo, 1577. The quotation from Monardes is taken from this translation.

published in 1572 his 'Instruction sur l'herbe Petun ditte en France l'Herbe de la Royne ou Medicée.' This work, appearing in the year of the massacre of St Bartholomew, calls the herb, for reasons already given, after Catherine de Medici (1519-98), widow of Henri II and mother of the reigning monarch Charles IX, and then at the height of her power. It is this writer Gohorry against whom Thevet justly animadverts for his folly in regarding the plant Petun as of male and female varieties. The Italian who had raised Thevet's ire was Girolamo Benzoni, who, in 1565 published at Venice a somewhat feeble work entitled 'La Historia del Mondo Nuovo.' Benzoni's work went through numerous editions and was translated into Latin and French.

Las Casas, Oviedo, Cartier, Nicot, Sainte Croix, Monardes, Gohorry, Benzoni and the Indians themselves all agree in attributing medicinal properties to the herb. It appears to have been used in surgery for wounds, ulcers and abscesses, and to have had mainly antiseptic and counter-irritant action in addition to its well-known anæsthetic and narcotic influence and emetic effects. Its value for the itch seems to have been undoubted, and it was recommended both internally and externally for cancerous growths, headache, noli-me-tangere, rheumatism, morbus gallicus, indigestion, asthma, yaws, erysipelas, and many other conditions. Monardes especially gives details of its medical application. Leaves and cakes of tobacco, extracts, infusions and distillates as well as the ashes and smoke of the burning herb all found usage in these early years.

The first account of tobacco by a skilled botanist is that of Mathias de L'Obel, Lobel or Lobelius (1538-1616), whose name has come down to us in the Lobelia. Lobel, who was a native of Lille, became physician to the Prince of Orange, and was afterwards attached to the service of the States-General. Later he came to England, where he was made botanist to James I. In 1576 appeared at Antwerp Lobel's work 'Plantarum seu Stirpium Historia,' in which he devotes a section to the tobacco plant, calling it 'Indorum Sana Sancta sive Nicotiana Gallorum.' Lobel gives an excellent figure of the plant (fig. 5), and by its side a negro's head smoking a truly terrible cigar formed of a palm leaf stuffed with tobacco. Lobel writes in the

vilest Latin, of which the following is an attempt at a translation.

'A few years ago this plant was discovered by Portuguese, French, Dutch and English as a denizen of the West Indies For you may see many sailors who have returned from that country who carry little funnels made of a coiled palm leaf or of reeds, into one end of which are placed curled, broken up and dried leaves of this [Nicotiana] plant. They set light to it and drawing it into their mouths as much as they can, they suck in the smoke by inhalation. They are thereby enabled to endure hunger and thirst, to maintain their strength and to exhilarate the spirits. They declare that it soothes the brain with a pleasant form of intoxication, and it certainly gives rise to an incredible quantity of spittle. It does not easily affect those who are accustomed to it, nor does it produce delirium with rigors (?) [dementat frigore] like Hyoscyamus, but it affects the cavities of the brain with its soothing aroma.

'The use of Hyoscyamus is attended with danger. Our drug, however, is rightly called the *holy herb*, because it satisfies hunger, it heals ulcers and wounds, and it is good for diseases of the chest and wasting of the lungs. In fact there is no new thing that our age has obtained from America that is more efficacious as a remedy.'

It is interesting to find Lobel and other early writers pointing out the pharmacological resemblance of the two genera Nicotiana and Hyoscyamus. Many of the Solanaceae besides Tobacco and Henbane are known to contain active pharmacological principles which produce narcotic effects. Lobel might have included among these the Mandragora (*Mandragora officinalis*),* probably the 'Dudaim' of the Bible, as well as the different genera described as 'nightshades' (Solanun, Atropa, etc.). Thus a new narcotic from the West had been added to poppy and mandragora and all the drowsy syrups from the East. In a later work Lobel refers to tobacco as 'Hyoscyamus Peruvianus,' giving its 'Belgian' name as tobacco.† It is clear from the attitude of this author towards tobacco

* See Gen. xxx, 14 *et seq.*, and Song of Songs, vii, 13. The Hebrew word, which means 'love-plants,' is rendered 'mandragora' by both Vulgate and Septuagint. The plant implied by the text was evidently supposed to have (like nearly all narcotics) a preliminary exciting effect.

† 'Plantarum seu Stirpium Icones,' Antwerp, 1581, 2 vols.

that his royal master's well-known opinions on that subject were little influenced by him.

It was not until July 28, 1586, that Francis Drake, with Governor Lane and Walter Raleigh on board, brought to England the first tobacco that reached this country. From the works of Thevet, Lobel and others already quoted, it is clear that no claim can be made for the English as pioneers of the use of tobacco in Europe. The custom of smoking was probably common enough among sailors long before 1586. Attempts to extinguish the practice were made by the 'counterblast' of more than one monarch,* by the excommunications of popes,† and by the denunciations of faculties.‡ But the custom continued to spread, despite penalties, abuses, penal enactments, capital punishment, and, on one occasion at least, the ingenious sentence of being eaten alive. This last unamiable device was the product of the fertile brain of the Russian Patriarch Nikon, and had for its object the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. The account of the matter given by the Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo is as follows :

'When the Metropolitan Mira came to Moscow, it happened, in consequence of his many odious deformities and those of his servants and companions, that his Archimandrites, with his pretended relatives and Deacons, were found smoking tobacco ; and they were all instantly sent into banishment. He himself only was liberated. . . . The Patriarch, however,

* Our James I was not the only monarch to denounce tobacco. Christian IV of Denmark employed his physician, Simon Paulus, to compose a work against it. In Russia, where the capital had suffered from several conflagrations originating in the reprehensible habit of smoking in bed, the Grand Duke Michael Federovitch forbade the usage of the herb. For the first offence only the knout was inflicted, but for the second the nose was to be slit, and for the third life was to be forfeited. Similar, though more merciful, enactments received the sanction of the Sultan Amurath IV of Turkey and of Seac Sophi, King of Persia.

† Urban VIII, the condemner of Galileo, published a bull excommunicating all who introduced tobacco into churches. Later, Clement XI forbade it specifically in St. Peter's at Rome. As this church was alone mentioned in Clement's edict, it was taken by some as rescinding the previous bull in all other churches !

‡ In 1699 a Thesis was sustained before the medical School of the University of Paris 'An ex Tabaci usu frequenti vitæ summa brevior.' It was decided in the affirmative. The decision may be considered to have less weight, however, as the sustainer smoked throughout the proceedings. For this and other anecdotes, see the chapter on tobacco in the sixth part of the 'Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique,' by R. P. Labat, 'de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs,' Paris, 1720, and subsequent editions.

was still in a great rage against him, . . . and now sent to have him brought to these savages ["the dog-faced tribe" of Kalmucks] that they might devour him; but he was not to be found, having hid himself.*

The incident has been regarded as an instance of patriarchal humour.† This interpretation, however, ill accords with what is known of Nikon; and Mitra at least (whose decision may be accepted as authoritative) does not seem to have regarded the matter in this light.

We are, however, passing the limits of the early history of the drug. It had now begun to leave the domain of *Materia Medica*, or rather it was entering that higher branch of Therapeutics, which concerns itself more with the ordering of men's lives than with the prescription of bottles of physic. In this branch of medicine '*Tabaci folia*' will continue to take an important place. Until quite recent times, however, preparations of tobacco were still used in medicine as local applications for the relief of pain, especially in cases of hernia and after operations. For such purposes it has now been replaced by *Belladonna* and allied drugs.

To one other medicinal use of tobacco, not quite extinct in modern times, we may here briefly refer. The herb was popularly‡ employed as a disinfectant against such diseases as were supposed to be air-borne. The fumes of the burning leaves were mainly used, but Pepys tells of a second method. On June 7, 1665, when the plague at London was approaching its height, the old gossip describes how 'much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord, have mercy upon us!" writ there . . . It put me into an ill conception of myself and

* 'The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, written by his attendant archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic.' Translated by F. C. Belfour. London Oriental Translation Committee, 1879, vol. i, p. 420. Here will also be found an account of the contemporary table customs of this cannibal tribe. The events related took place at some date between the years 1652 and 1658.

† So the late Dean Stanley in his '*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*,' 1861, lecture xi.

‡ And not only popularly. Isbrand van Diemerbroek, perhaps the best medical writer on the plague of the 17th century, and one of the best of any age, considered that he owed his life to the disinfectant qualities of the tobacco smoked by him during an epidemic.

my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell to and chew, which took away the apprehension.'

Before we leave our subject we would draw attention to the spread of the use of tobacco not only among white men, but also among some of the lowest existing races, who have had little or no contact with civilised people.* Thus the Australian blacks smoke tobacco freely. The Andamanese use clay pipes, and even the few wild Veddahs surviving in the interior of Ceylon chew tobacco. The primitive races of the Malay Peninsula, Semang, Sakai and Yakun, are all fond of smoking tobacco, and some of them also chew it. In the western parts of New Guinea, the wildest and most untouched tribes yet investigated are smokers, and the custom is evidently not the direct result of white influence. Tobacco smoking on the eastern part of the island has probably been introduced only during the last quarter of a century; and in a few years it will be difficult to map the area into which the habit is of recent importation. It is not necessary to assume European responsibility for the introduction of tobacco, as a species of the plant is found growing wild, and is also cultivated in the very centre of the island. The Tapiro pygmies of Dutch New Guinea are also very fond of smoking. Throughout Africa, again, the use of tobacco is very widely spread, derived doubtless more or less directly from Arab and European sources. Into the Near East tobacco smoking was introduced in the 17th century, the period which also saw the commencement of opium smoking in China. The use of tobacco thus forms the unique instance in modern times of the world-wide adoption of a custom that originates with a barbarous race.

CHARLES SINGER.

* The writer has to thank Prof. C. G. Seligman for kindly providing him with most of the anthropological data which follow.



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